

**THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF POLITICAL VIEWS ON THE
CASE OF THE DEATH PENALTY OF BALI-NINE CONVICTS
IN *THE JAKARTA POST*'S EDITORIALS**

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Sarjana Pendidikan



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112010004

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
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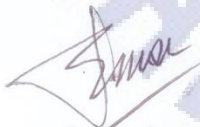
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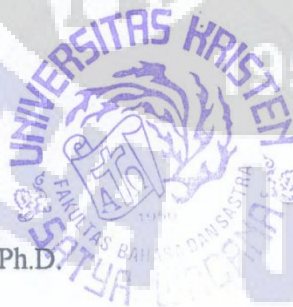
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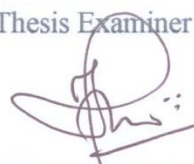
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Constructions of Political Views on the Case of the Death Penalty of Bali-Nine Convicts in *the Jakarta Post's* Editorials

Antonius Yogi Puguh Aristuta

ABSTRACT

People get information from mass media, especially newspaper. Technology makes people easily access newspaper by providing online newspaper. But sometimes in reporting news, news writers insert ideological stances in mass media to influence readers as their desires. Many researchers have conducted research on media representations of political figures, for example, Ahmmed (2014) and Zaher (2009). They found that people who have power in news reporting, play important role in manipulate and influence readers to support the writer ideas and beliefs. In my study, I conduct a research about media bias in Indonesian context. The object of the study is editorials about capital punishment for Bali Nine convicts in *The Jakarta Post's* editorials. *The Jakarta Post* was chosen because it declared support to one of the president candidates who became the president of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo. The purpose of the study is to reveal the ways of ideology is transferred into editorials and to find out whether *The Jakarta Post* is neutral or not in presenting capital punishment issue. The instrument of data analysis is Thompson's theory of ideology. Thompson's theory of ideology provide a great tools to analyze, they are, *legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation, and reification*. Seven editorials texts are analyzed and the findings are approximately 54% of JP's stances indicated support to government, 16% of JP's stances indicated criticize to government, and 30% indicated objective. It reflects that media bias to some extent exists in an Indonesian newspaper like the JP.

Keywords: *Mass media, media bias, ideology, power, Thompson's theory of ideology.*

INTRODUCTION

Mass media provide much information, especially newspaper. By reading a newspaper, people know what actually happen in the world without being present on the places. Articles in a newspaper make people keep in touch with the latest news. However, the articles in the mass media can be manipulated for any

purposes. Van Dijk (1996) claims that the structure of the text can be controlled by the majority and they can insert things in the text that are valuable to them (p.85). Newspaper articles are created by people who have the power to insert their perspectives towards issues in order to make readers have a same perception, opinion, and agreement.

People who have power will have access to shape the public opinion. Janks (2010) states “Power [is] in the hands of dominant groups in society who have power over subordinate groups” (p.35). A dominant group or person uses mass media to control powerless group. According to Van Dijk (1995), the dominant group consists of people who “have preferential and active access to public discourse, in general, and to that of the media, in particular” (p.33). A Van Dijk’s statement is supported by another linguist. Fairclough (2003) states that politician(s) can use their position as owner of a newspaper to influence his/her journalist in constructing news report and they easily put some ideas in the news report (p.12). The power of dominant group or person in news report construction can lead to media bias. The news report is constructed and manipulated by the majority, especially by the politician(s) whose ideas are reported by journalists. For some issues, power works on mass media to influence public opinion. People agreement and belief toward the information in the news articles are the goals of control of public opinion through media bias.

Ahmmmed (2014) and Zaher (2009) have conducted research on media bias in western contexts and found that people who have power are able to manipulate the news text. In this study, I attempt to uncover political views (which may

include biases) in an Indonesian context. The issue discussed here is the death penalty for Bali Nine convicts. The death penalty is a controversial issue that is appropriate as an object of the research because it has provoked controversy. Although many protesters are against the death penalty, the Indonesian government is insistent that the death penalty be a punishment for Bali Nine convicts. The mass media here plays an important role in constructing public opinion toward the issue. To analyze the news articles, I provide Thompson's modes of ideology as research tools.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Some previous studies have explored media bias in journalism. For example, Ahmmed (2014) investigates political discourse through Bangladeshi mass media. He found that the journalist's background takes effect on coverage of the media contents. Another researcher, Zaher (2009), conducted a study of Arab and American newspaper in presenting Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He investigates on how power relations and ideology "shape discourse when reporting the same event in the newspaper that are clearly sited in different political and historical contexts" (Zaher, 2009, p.3). As a result, Zaher (2009) concludes, "Western newspapers take Israeli sources as the primary definers of the situations while AN [Arabic News] takes Palestinian sources as the primary definers." These studies revealed that politicians' ideas portrayed in the media are not always neutral. They influence readers' perspective to agree and support to ideas planted by the news writer in the news report.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ideology

The term of ideology first appeared in the eighteenth century in France, and since then it has a variety of meanings (Thompson, 1990, as cited in Zaher, 2009). In Thompson's view, ideology is a meaning in the service of power (Thompson, 1990 as cited in Zaher, 2009), which means ideology can be used as an instrument of the dominant group to organize and create conditions as they desire. Zaher (2009) states "Ideology establishes and maintains unequal power relations and makes them appear natural and unquestionable." Zaher's statement is in line with Fairclough (2003) who states that "[i]deologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation." According to Freeden (1998), ideology is a "sets of political ideas, beliefs and attitudes that involve the adoption of practices which explain, support, justify or contest socio-political arrangements, and which provide plans of action for public political institutions" (p.749). Later, Holborow (2012) mentions two characteristics of ideology, there are; one-sided representation and articulated from particular social class but constructed as a world-view (p.29).

"Ideology is one-sided representation"

Ideology is like a coin which has two different sides. Despite showing both sides, ideology only shows upright values. Another metaphor used is "*camera obscura*" by Marx and Engels in 1974. Holborow (2012) states, "Ideological representation starts from the real but sees the real through a certain

lens”(p.29). The dominant group who has power creates their ideas and beliefs to become clear and makes another part of their ideas and beliefs seem blurred.

“Articulated from particular social class but constructed as a world-view”

Dominant group represented their ideology as a whole social elements’ belief. According to Holborow (2012), ideas and beliefs of the dominant group are the roots of the world-view ideology. The ability to maintain and establish the relation with a subordinated group makes the dominant ideology accepted. Holborow (2012) gives an example; he states: “The ideological fundamentals remain, namely that free-market economics are the accepted framework and structural dynamic of society. Market ideology makes present-day social relations appears as the outcome of natural laws outside history.”

Characteristics of ideology mentioned above suggest that ideology can be analyzed through discourse. Zaher (2009) states, “ideology is a central concept in CDA” (p.42). Thompson argues that the study of ideology investigates ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by various symbolic forms. Thompson (1990) states that:

The analysis of ideology . . . is primarily concerned with the ways in which symbolic forms intersect with relations of power. It is concerned with the ways in which meaning is mobilized in the social world and serves thereby to bolster up individuals or groups who occupy positions of power. (p.56, as cited in Janks, 2010, p. 36).

Within this context, ideology works when a dominant group who has a power to maintain a domination by influence opinion of society toward certain phenomena such as the relationship with other countries, rules and laws, and solve problem in many aspects.

Mass media is one of the most effective ways of maintaining domination. Through mass media, the dominant group has the ability to control public opinion by inserting values and notions in the text. I analyze the way that ideology is delivered through news text by providing Thompson's five general modes of ideology which be used as a tool to uncover news writer's techniques in delivery ideology values.

Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology

Thompson's modes of operation of ideology are used as a tool in the study. "The strength of Thompson's theory of ideology is that it provides us with powerful machinery for understanding the relationship between language, power and domination" (Janks, 2010, p.37). Five general modes of Thompson are *legitimation*, *dissimulation*, *unification*, *fragmentation*, and *reification*. Janks (2010) states that Thompson's theory can reveal the way of ideology works in the text by identifying linguistic and non-linguistic symbols which used to make a desirable effect of ideology (p.37). Motyka (1995), states that all modes are "taken as the 'marker' for a series of practices on the linguistic-conceptual level which," Motyka (1995) added, "through manipulating the words, images, sounds, data, etc., involved, work to suggest (but not determine) certain meanings which, in specific contexts, can (re-)produce relations of domination" (p.20).

Legitimation

According to Thompson (1990, p.61 as cited in Janks, 2010, p.37), *legitimation* is the way relationship of the domination is worth existing and being supported. In other words, the government has a power to control society,

especially through media. Janks (2010) claims that *legitimation* works by *rationalisation, universalisation, and narrativisation* (p.37). Rationalisation refers to ideas and opinions that make speaker's statement seems right. Janks (2010) states, "Rationalisation usually depends on a chain of reasoning" (p.37). Universalisation refers to generalize certain group ideas or opinions represent public's view. Janks (2010) states, "In universalisation a set of institutional arrangements which privilege certain groups only, are presented as serving the interests of all" (p.37). The writers are also able to maintain legitimation by construct their news report well organized. Janks (2010) mentioned "In narrativization stories are used to naturalize socially interested constructions of the world" (p.37). Kissas (2015) added "the strategy of narrativization may give rise to a discourse that is oriented at legitimizing social asymmetries" (p.97). Janks (2010) believes that "Stories are presented as embodying universal timeless truths and are often used as a reference point for whole communities" (p.37).

Dissimulation

Another Thompson's modes aspect is dissimulation. Janks (2010) states, "Dissimulation is the process by which relations of domination are concealed or obscured". Dissimulation works through three strategies; they are euphemism, displacement, and trope. Janks (2010) describes "Euphemism is an obvious means of disguising unpleasant actions, events or social relations and of re-describing them positively" (p.37). Later, trope, Ndambuki (2010) claims "includes the figurative use of language, the most common form being synecdoche, metonymy and metaphor" (p.109). Dissimulation also works through displacement. It works

“via which the symbolic meaning (positive or negative) that is customarily attached to a specific object (term, image or a sound) is transferred to another symbol that is now related to that object” (Thompson, 1990 as cited in Kissas, 2015, p.96).

Unification and Fragmentation

The word ‘*we*’ and ‘*them*’ in the text can be useful to build a gap. Janks (2010) states that unification and fragmentation “are related processes in that they work in opposite directions—the one seeks to unite and join people for ideological purposes and the other seeks to split people off from one another” (p.38). When editors use fragmentation and unification, they put ‘*we are attacked by them*’ inside the news article. Readers who read the article seems like also being attacked by the ‘*them*’ side. But, in reality, readers are ordinary people who don’t get involved in and injured by ‘*them*’ side as mentioned in the article. This is a way of creating ‘*us*’ to influence readers’ beliefs to stand on the same side with the editor.

Unification and fragmentation are used by the news writer to construct nationalism. Smith defines nationalism as an “ideological movement for attaining and maintaining identity, unity, and autonomy of a social group some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation” (Smith, 1999, p.29 as cited in San Martin, 2009, p.3). Nationalism, Anderson (2006) added, has a sense of “being official;—i.e., something emanating from the state, and serving the interests of the state first and foremost” (p.175). Nationalists use statements that excite the emotions and create a sense of rational support. In light of definitions of

nationalism mentioned above, I conclude that nationalism is an ideology which constructs unity and togetherness of its members to uphold nation interests as a priority.

Reification

According to Ndambuki (2010), reification “is a process where states of affairs are presented as natural and outside of time (history), space and social processes”(p.110). Later, Reification works through naturalisation, externalisation, nominalisation, and passivization (Janks, 2010, p.39). She states: “Nominalisation is the linguistic process of turning a verb into a nominal (i.e., a noun).” Here an action is transformed into a state or a thing. Then, Reification also works through passivization. Janks (2010) states “Passivisation, also a linguistic process, is used to convert active voice to passive voice.” For example, the word “*American soldiers kill many terrorist*” turned into “*many terrorists were killed by American soldiers.*” Later, Janks (2010) claims “Both these processes delete actors and agency and change what is the matised (fronted) in the clause.” Ndambuki (2010) makes a clearer explanation by said “These involve deletion of actors and agency and they tend to represent processes as things or events which take place in the absence of an ‘unnamed subject’” (p.110). The third way of reification works is through naturalisation. Janks (2010) states, “Naturalisation is the means by which socially constructed realities are presented as natural and inevitable” (p.39). Janks’ statement is supported by Ndambuki (2010), he states, “Hence reification is used to naturalize the current state of affairs and to maintain the status quo” (p.110). The last way of reification is

through externalisation. Janks (2010) states, “Externalisation is a process whereby social rituals, customs, traditions and institutions become fixed and immutable, external to the socio-historical conditions of their production.”

Thompson’s (1990, as cited in Janks, 2010) theory of ideology has been used in various fields. Brantlinger, Majd-Jabbari, and Guskin (1996) used Thompson’s theory to analyze the ways of ideology works for middle-class mother on their child’s education. Through a narrative text from middle-class mothers, Brantlinger et al. (1996) found that “ideology operates to create social class distinctive positions and identifications and allows privileged educational and societal status to be justified”(p.590). Similarly with my research, Kazaz and Gülнар (2014) used Thompson’s theory to investigate the ideological framing on television news. And the result reveals that “the subject is reconstructed in accordance with the desires of the dominant powers and the government and is presented within a new frame” (Kazaz&Gülнар, 2014, p.1061). Thompson’s theory has been proven itself as a useful instrument to analyze in which ways ideology is performed. I have been challenged to examine the theory in my study.

THE STUDY

Context of Study

This study is a qualitative study that employs textual analysis. The aim of this study is to answer the question “What is *The Jakarta Post*’s position in presenting the capital punishment issue under Jokowi’s presidency?” This study investigates *The Jakarta Post*’s editors’ perspectives on capital punishment. Their

perspectives are assumed to reflect their ideological commitment in relation to President Joko Widodo's policy on the death penalty. This textual analysis is made possible by using modes of operation of ideology by Thompson (1990, as cited in Janks, 2010), which are legitimation, fragmentation, reification, dissimulation, and unification to analyze a news article in the editorial of *The Jakarta Post* online newspaper that reports a death penalty issue.

Object of Study

The objects of the study are editorials written by The Jakarta Post's editors. The articles are related to the controversy of the death penalty, a type of punishment supported by Jokowi. I choose The Jakarta Post (henceforth JP) because of its endorsement to Jokowi who was a candidate for winning presidential election on 9 July 2014. The study will also reveal whether Jakarta Post is consistent in supporting Jokowi or not. The news articles which will be analyzed are 7 news articles reported in the period of February through May 2015.

Data Collection Procedure

The first step I should do is open the official website of *The Jakarta Post* at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/editorial> and look for the editorials which reports death penalty issue from February until May 2015. Then, I copy all the editorials reports which to be analyzed to the computer to get the finding

Data Analysis Procedure

After reading the editorials copied to my laptop, I analyzed all the editorial news articles by highlighting sentences and words which indicate an editor's stance that corresponded with Thompson's general modes. The stances can be found by defining the editors' opinions, desires, attitudes, feelings and judgments. I only focused on the JP editors' meta-commentary on Jokowi, attorney general, other country's leader, and capital punishment. Then, I created a table of each part of dissimulation, legitimation, fragmentation, reification and unification at sentence level in every editorial article. After that, I analyzed JP editors' stances, whether support Jokowi or not. The data will be discussed in the next section of the study.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

After all texts were analyzed, I showed the result into tables to make easier to understand. I found that JP almost uses all general modes of ideology, except reification in constructing editorials. As Table 1 shows, JP uses legitimation, dissimulation, unification, and fragmentation in delivering its stances. In total 37 stances, a major stance indicates JP seems to support Jokowi. JP does criticize Jokowi, but not sharply when giving a negative comment on Jokowi, JP uses a figurative language (Thompson's dissimulation). JP also tries to be objective even though the number of stances is not as many as supportive stances.

Table 1. The Jakarta Post Stances

NO	JP STANCES	QUANTITY
1	Supporting Jokowi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimation = 13 • Unification = 2 • Fragmentation = 5
2	Criticizing Jokowi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimation = 1 • Dissimulation = 1 • Fragmentation = 4
3	Objective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimation = 8 • Unification = 1 • Fragmentation = 2
TOTAL		37

JP's stances which indicate support to Jokowi's policy

I found that approximately 54% of JP's stances indicated support to Jokowi in capital punishment issue. JP used legitimation more often than other modes in delivering its stances (see Table 1). In editorials which reported an accident in Brazil as an impact of capital punishment, JP suggested that Indonesian Foreign Minister make sure that the accident between two countries would not happen in the next summit. JP also gave a supportive stance toward Jokowi regime when reporting capital punishment in Saudi Arabia. JP stated, "*but Saudi Arabia has taught us a lesson*", it means that JP supported Jokowi to maintain capital punishment even though many foreign countries had protested it. JP thought that the Indonesian government should take a lesson from Saudi Arabia, which applies the same regulation. In editorial entitled "Unnecessary Circus", JP clearly supported Jokowi by stating "*Jokowi has aimed to give a nationalist flavor to his government policies.*" JP created an image of Jokowi as a

patriotic person when Jokowi rejected the international appeal to cancel the death row for drug traffickers (See Table 2).

Table 2. Legitimation (rationalization):-Supporting Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Brazil's Red Card, 24 February 2015, Paragraph 6	Another Brazilian drug trafficker, Rodrigo Muxfeldt Gularte, is also on death row, therefore Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno LP Marsudi needs to make sure a similar diplomatic incident between the two countries does not happen during the Istanbul encounter.*
	Editorial: Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015, Paragraph 9	The public debate on whether Indonesia should drop or maintain the death penalty will continue anyway, but Saudi Arabia has taught us a lesson.
	Editorial: Unnecessary Circus 29 April 2015, Paragraph 6	In fact, Jokowi has aimed to give a nationalist flavor to his government policies , which is not strange considering his affiliation with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P).

*JP stances are printed in bold.

JP used narrativization to deliver its stances. Narrativisation connects the present event with a past event and treats the former as a cherished tradition (Janks, 2010). JP believed that Jokowi would get public faith when he keeps maintaining capital punishment for drug traffickers. Then, JP connected with the

past event when Jokowi declared promises on the presidential election campaign. Another narativization is found in the news text entitled “*Unnecessary Circus.*” released on 29 April, JP argued that what Jokowi did when getting pressure from foreign countries was a patriotic act. JP disagreed if foreign countries were involved in Indonesia’s internal affairs (See Table 3).

Table 3. *Legitimation (Narrativization:)-Supporting Jokowi*

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
LEGITIMATION (NARRATIVISATION)	Editorial : Unnecessary Circus,29 April 2015,Paragraph 4	It seems that for Jokowi, a popular president but one who lacks outright majority political support, the execution of the death row inmates will help him retain the public’s faith as many of his election promises have yet to materialize.
	Editorial : Unnecessary Circus; 29 April 2015,Paragraph 5	Understandably Jokowi has resorted to a nationalist narrative when dealing with the death penalty, reminding foreign governments against interfering in Indonesia’s internal affairs.

JP used unification to call for the public’s support. Unification takes effect on public emotion to uphold national interest. In the article entitled “Abbott’s own Tsunami,” which was published by *The Jakarta Post* on 21 February 2015, unification is found in paragraph 5. JP stated that Indonesians were respectful toward Australia’s help when the tsunami occurred, despite Tony Abbott’s

negative commentary. JP used the words “we” and “Indonesians” to conjure up an image that JP statement represented all Indonesian citizens’ stance. I also found unification in the news article entitled “Editorial: Respect thy neighbor’s law” published on April 30, 2015. JP used unification to build a public opinion for all countries to be respectful, diplomatic, and polite toward the sensitive issue, especially capital punishment. See Table 4.

Table 4. Unification (Standardisation):-Supporting Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
UNIFICATION (STANDARDISATION)	Abbott’s own Tsunami, 21 February 2015; Paragraph 5	Indonesians will never forget Australia’s generous help for the people in Aceh and Nias, and we wish that we could have the opportunity to show the same generosity to Australia.
		We will always remember with deep gratitude the four Australian military personnel who lost their lives during a rescue operation in the two tsunami-devastated areas.

On the issue of capital punishment, JP slightly used fragmentation to highlight gaps between Australian help and Australian effort to save their citizen (see Table 5). JP’s fragmentation differentiates JP itself represented the public opinion and foreign countries whose government protested against Indonesia’s decision to maintain capital punishment for drug traffickers. In editorials, JP has the power to construct public opinion through the text, for example, Tony Abbott as a negative figure for Indonesian citizen.

Table 5. Fragmentation (differentiation): -Supporting Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 2	It was ridiculous to compare Australia's assistance to help hundreds of thousands of victims of a natural disaster in Aceh and Nias with his efforts to save the lives of two Australian drug traffickers.

In editorial entitled "Abbott's own Tsunami" released on 21 February 2015, JP delivered its point of view toward Tony Abbott's reaction. Two kinds of fragmentation (both differentiation and expurgation of the other) appeared. By stating "*it was ridiculous*", JP thought that "*it was inappropriate to compare Australian help in tsunami disaster in Aceh with Australian convicts who face death row*". JP also constructed a negative opinion concerning the Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott by stating that "*[the Australian prime minister] had embarrassed himself*."

Table 6. Fragmentation (expurgation of the other): -Supporting Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Abbott's Own Tsunami, 21 February 2015, Paragraph 2	The PM had embarrassed himself because his offensive remark was initially only responded to by the Foreign Ministry's spokesman Armanatha Nasir.
	Brazil's Red Card, 24 February 2015,	From the Indonesian perspective, the "red card" or marching orders for Toto went too far beyond normal

	Paragraph 11	diplomatic courtesy.
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JP commented on Brazil's reaction when its citizens faced a death row in Indonesia. JP represented its opinion on behalf of the Indonesian side. JP thinks Brazil's action by sending the Indonesian ambassador was an inappropriate behavior, according to the diplomatic convention of international relations (see Table 6).

JP's stances which indicate criticize to Jokowi's policy

In seven editorial articles, I found some of JP stances that indicated light criticisms to Jokowi and his governance. As Table 7 shown, JP attempted to think rationally when Jokowi was resolute to maintain capital punishment, despite receiving international protest. However, one may wonder why Jokowi did not apply the same strict punishment to corruption convicts. JP wanted Indonesia to be clear from corruption, which was promised by Jokowi during the campaign period.

Table 7. Legitimation (Rationalisation):-Criticizing Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015; Paragraph 11	Indonesians themselves should step up the war on corruption to better ensure a clean, reliable judiciary.

I also found that JP criticized Jokowi by using dissimulation in the text entitled "Unnecessary Circus" published on April 29, 2015. JP used figurative language, such as "*fruit*" and "*circus*" in reporting the news to well mannered its

critique toward Jokowi. JP questioned Jokowi's consistency to maintain capital punishment. A tree is used as a figurative symbol of the inconsistency of maintaining capital punishment by Jokowi. The tree that bears fruits and the fruits itself is a figurative symbol of the result of inconsistency. JP thought capital punishment for drugs convicts should be declared as soon as possible (see Table 8).

Table 8. *Dissimulation (Trope): -Criticizing Jokowi*

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
DISSIMULATION (TROPE)	Editorial : Unnecessary Circus, 29 April 2015, Paragraph 8	It is a lack of consistency that Jokowi has been accused of, including on the issue of the death penalty. The fruits of this inconsistency include the unnecessary media circus. Reports of Sukhoi jet-fighter fly-pasts and Army drills to secure the executions and repeated delays to the implementation of the death sentences have filled the public space without adding any new insight into the long-standing debate over capital punishment.

Despite fragmentation used to create a bad figure of other country's leader, fragmentation was also used by JP to criticize Jokowi's governance (See Tables 9 and 10). JP criticizes Jokowi's consistency on maintaining capital punishment for a drug trafficker. JP suggested Jokowi to declare capital punishment as soon as possible.

Table 9. Fragmentation (Differentiation):-Criticizing Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Editorial : Unnecessary Circus, 29 April 2015, Paragraph 8	it is a lack of consistency that Jokowi has been accused of, including on the issue of the death penalty.

JP, in the “*Unnecessary Circus*” article focused on Jokowi’s performance as a president. By stating, “*he fails to explain...*”, JP expurgated Jokowi when Jokowi maintained capital punishment for drug traffickers but not for corruption convicts. JP also stated “*To make matters worse...*” for questioning on Jokowi commitment on anti-corruption. Then, JP criticized Jokowi, comparing him to Tony Abbott and other leaders of foreign countries. JP criticizes Jokowi to remember promises in the past. But, the real purpose of JP’s critical stances is JP did not want Jokowi’s popularity to become dimmed.

Table 10. Fragmentation (Expurgation of the other):-Criticizing Jokowi

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Editorial: Unnecessary Circus, 29 April 2015, Paragraph 7	He fails to explain, however, why the death penalty has never been sought for corruption convicts.
		To make matters worse, Jokowi’s commitment to anticorruption has come into question as a result of his failure to defend the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) recently.

JP's stances which indicate that the editors attempted to be objective to Jokowi's policy

In presenting their editorial stance, JP attempted to be objective to Jokowi's political stance. After discussing the political situation during the issue of capital punishment, JP used rationalization at the end of the paragraph to make a sense of JP stance on the neutral side. JP suggested that all sides should respect each other and solve the problem in a good manner (see Table 11).

Table 11. Legitimation (Rationalization)–Objective Stance

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Abbott's Wwn Tsunami, 21 February 2015, Paragraph 7	But in the end, every country should also respect the laws of other countries.
	Editorial: Respect Thy Neighbor's Law, 30 April 2015, Paragraph 8	However, all sides must resist the temptation to use coarse language and veiled threats, which will only inflame the situation further.

JP used unification to create a sense of belonging among readers by stating "Indonesia should..." Unlike unification before, JP attempted to control government and public opinion to act maturely. JP argued Indonesia should respond calmly when foreign countries are against capital punishment for drugs convicts (see Table 12).

Table 12. Unification-Objective Stance

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
UNIFICATION (SYMBOLISATION OF UNITY)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	Indonesia should not react harshly to a protocol in international diplomacy.

As Table 13 shows, JP used fragmentation to deliver its neutral stances. JP tries to be objective when Brazilian rejected our ambassador by stating “*But no matter how humiliating the treatment, Indonesia should act maturely.*” JP suggested Indonesia to be humble and react maturely. Even when discussing the death penalty controversy, JP explained that there was no correlation between the death penalty and its deterrent effect on criminals. JP acted as a neutral, but slightly supporting Jokowi to maintain capital.

Table 13. Fragmentation (Differentiation)-Objective Stance

TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Brazil's red card, 24 February 2015 Paragraph 12	But no matter how humiliating the treatment, Indonesia should act maturely.
	Editorial : Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015 Paragraph 6	Either beheading, which many call cruel and uncivilized, or the use of a firing squad, capital punishment has been maintained in many countries on the grounds that it effectively deters people from committing such crimes, although some studies have found no correlation between the two.

The findings above allow me answer to the question “What is *The Jakarta Post*’s position in presenting capital punishment issue under Jokowi’s presidency?”. After analyzing the data and show tables with an explanation, I conclude that *Jakarta Post*’s Editorials slightly supports Jokowi’s presidency in maintaining capital punishment. I found that the *Jakarta Post*’s Editorials uses Thompson modes of ideology in delivering its ideological stances. In total of 37 JP’s stances, I found that 54% of stances support Jokowi presidency. JP’s stances seem to support Jokowi, especially when foreign countries like Australia and Brazil attempted to persuade Jokowi to cancel the death penalty for drugs convicts. JP delivers its statements against protesters from Brazil and Australia. JP also gives stances that indicated criticize to Jokowi presidency. But, softly, JP criticizes Jokowi’s inconsistency in maintaining capital punishment. JP suggested drugs convicts should executed soon. Capital punishment, JP suggests Jokowi to maintain not only for drug convicts but also for corruptor convicts, as Jokowi’s promise that declared to fight against corruption. Only a few number of objective stances that delivered by JP. In responding the issue of the capital punishment, JP suggested Indonesia should act maturely and respect foreign countries

Overall, the findings support the CDA theory on the role of media in shaping public opinion. Van Dijk (1996) claims that the structure of the text can be controlled by the majority and they can insert things in the text that are valuable to them (p. 85). In the editorial articles, the JP’s editors as a group people who have a power in constructing news article used various ways to deliver their ideological stances. JP is by and large consistent in supporting Jokowi although

getting international pressure on the issue of the capital punishment by giving positive views about the capital punishment issue. Nationalist ideology appeared when JP uses unification to influence the readers' perspective and constructs Tony Abbott's image as an Indonesian enemy. JP is biased into the government side by supporting to Jokowi's policy on maintaining capital punishment and influence readers' perspective to agree with the government policy.

CONCLUSION

I have analyzed seven JP editorials by using Thompson modes of ideology as a theoretical framework. The findings show that news report contains ideological statements from the editor to take aside and influence the reader's perspective toward issues. In the death penalty issue, *The Jakarta Post's* editor delivers various stances, drawing on other countries' attitude and response.

In presenting responses from Australia and Tony Abbott toward the issue of the death penalty, JP's stances seem like to create a bad character for Tony Abbott. JP states that Tony Abbott was unfair when comparing capital punishment with Australian help in the past. JP also responded by stating that Indonesia would never forget Australian when the tsunami disaster occurred in Sumatra, but JP wants Australia to respect the Indonesian law. Brazil refused the Indonesian ambassador as a protest to Indonesia by attempting to protect its citizens who face capital punishment. JP responded by stating that every country was obliged to protect its citizens. However, Brazil's act is far beyond normal diplomatic courtesy. JP also states that Indonesia should act maturely and avoid conflict with Brazil. JP delivers different stance when presenting news about Indonesian who

faces the death penalty in Saudi Arabia. It is a dilemma when Indonesia protest capital punishment, but Indonesia also maintains it. JP suggests that Indonesia should respect Saudi Arabia law as Indonesia wants from foreign countries. Even though, JP tries to push the government to struggle to protect Indonesian who faces the death penalty.

As a national newspaper, JP also provides a spotlight toward Jokowi governance. When Philippines Vice President was still in Indonesia, general attorney declared that the capital punishment preparation has been made. JP not frontally criticizes Jokowi governance. JP thinks that the time of the announcement about death penalty preparation is not right. JP also did not frontally attack and criticize Jokowi policy. Instead, JP highlighted his nationalist stance. JP emphasized the importance of rejecting foreign countries diplomatic courtesy, especially by respecting the laws of every country. Though criticizing Jokowi governance, JP thinks that capital punishment remains controversial. Finally, JP slightly supports to Jokowi but still tries to be objective.

The pedagogical implication of the study is to make readers think critically when exploring a news text. I have used Thompson's theory on politic and mass media term. For future research, I suggest the researcher to use Thompson's five general modes of ideology to find ideological stance that can be found in another term of text. For critical reading teachers, Thompson's theory of ideology should be given to critical reading students to enrich their knowledge in textual analysis because Thompson's theory of ideology is a potent instrument to be developed in future.

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APPENDIX 1. Supporting Jokowi's Stance.

NO	TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
1	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 7	The death penalty is controversial everywhere. Any state, including Indonesia, has the obligation to protect and to save the lives of their citizens who are facing troubles abroad, including those on death row.
2	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Brazil's red card, 24 February 2015 Paragraph 6	Another Brazilian drug trafficker, Rodrigo Muxfeldt Gularte, is also on death row, therefore Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno LP Marsudi needs to make sure a similar diplomatic incident between the two countries does not happen during the Istanbul encounter.
3	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Brazil's red card, 24 February 2015 Paragraph 10	Likewise, President Jokowi should also take all necessary measures to fulfill his constitutional duties, including saving the lives of Indonesians who are facing the death penalty abroad.
4	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial : Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015 Paragraph 7	As long as the death sentence remains an integral part of our national law and we believe it can serve as an effective deterrent, opposition to the execution of Indonesian nationals following the due process of law overseas only reflects inconsistency.
5	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial : Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015 Paragraph 9	The public debate on whether Indonesia should drop or maintain the death penalty will continue anyway, but Saudi Arabia has taught us a lesson.
6	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial : unnecessary	In fact Jokowi has aimed to give a nationalist flavor to his government

		circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 6	policies , which is not strange considering his affiliation with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P).
7	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 6	This may also explain why Jokowi chose to attack the World Bank, IMF, ADB and “rich countries” in his opening speech at the recent Asian-African commemorative summit in Jakarta.
8	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor’s law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 9	Every country will respond in accordance to threats and act in their own national interests. In the same way Australia has disregarded international humanitarian pleas not to turn back migrant boats because the Tony Abbott government believes it is in its national interest, so too has the Jokowi administration acted.
9	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor’s law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 10	What many outside this country do not realize is that there is as much if not greater debate concerning the executions as there is abroad. Nevertheless, it is a policy that has been made based on the due process available, no matter how imperfect, and thus should be respected
10	LEGITIMATION (NARRATIVISATION)	Abbott’s own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 5	We will always remember with deep gratitude the four Australian military personnel who lost their lives during a rescue operation in the two tsunami-devastated areas.
11	LEGITIMATION (NARRATIVISATION)	Abbott’s own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 8	The PM’s remark, however, will not change our respect for the government and the people of Australia who greatly contributed to the rescue and rebuilding of Aceh and Nias.

12	LEGITIMATION (NARRATIVISATION)	Editorial : unnecessary circus, 29 April 2015 Paragraph 4	It seems that for Jokowi, a popular president but one who lacks outright majority political support, the execution of the death row inmates will help him retain the public's faith as many of his election promises have yet to materialize.
13	LEGITIMATION (NARRATIVISATION)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 5	Understandably Jokowi has resorted to a nationalist narrative when dealing with the death penalty, reminding foreign governments against interfering in Indonesia's internal affairs.
14	UNIFICATION (STANDARDISATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 5	Indonesians will never forget Australia's generous help for the people in Aceh and Nias, and we wish that we could have the opportunity to show the same generosity to Australia.
15	UNIFICATION (STANDARDISATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 5	We will always remember with deep gratitude the four Australian military personnel who lost their lives during a rescue operation in the two tsunami-devastated areas.
16	FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 2	It was ridiculous to compare Australia's assistance to help hundreds of thousands of victims of a natural disaster in Aceh and Nias with his efforts to save the lives of two Australian drug traffickers.
17	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 2	The PM had embarrassed himself because his offensive remark was initially only responded to by the Foreign Ministry's spokesman Armanatha Nasir.

18	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 2	Although he tried to play down his own remark, the damage has been done.
19	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 2	And any damage control from the prime minister will mean almost nothing.
20	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Brazil's red card, 24 February 2015 Paragraph 11	From the Indonesian perspective, the "red card" or marching orders for Toto went too far beyond normal diplomatic courtesy.

APPENDIX 2. Criticizing Jokowi's stance.

NO	TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
1	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 11	Indonesians themselves should step up the war on corruption to better ensure a clean, reliable judiciary.
2	DISSIMULATION (TROPE)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 8	It is a lack of consistency that Jokowi has been accused of, including on the issue of the death penalty. The fruits of this inconsistency include the unnecessary media circus. Reports of Sukhoi jet-fighter fly-pasts and Army drills to secure the executions and repeated delays to the implementation of the death sentences have filled the public space without adding any new insight into the long-standing debate over capital punishment.
3	FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 8	it is a lack of consistency that Jokowi has been accused of, including on the issue of the death penalty.
4	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	week in review: execution and tomy soeharto, 26 April 2015 Paragraph 4	Only the attorney general knows why he did not refrain from embarrassing Binay and his own president. Was it ignorance, coincidence, or a well-planned show of power?
5	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 7	He fails to explain, however, why the death penalty has never been sought for corruption convicts.
6	FRAGMENTATION (EXPURGATION OF THE OTHER)	Editorial : unnecessary circus 29 April 2015 Paragraph 7	To make matters worse, Jokowi's commitment to anticorruption has come into question as a result of his failure to defend the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) recently.

APPENDIX 3. JP's Objective Stances

NO	TYPE	NEWS	JP STANCE
1	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Abbott's own Tsunami, 21 February 2015 Paragraph 7	But in the end, every country should also respect the laws of other countries.
2	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial : Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015 Paragraph 5	Therefore, Jokowi and whoever supports the death penalty in the country can do nothing but respect the prevailing law in Saudi Arabia, simply because they do not want other countries to disrespect Indonesian law.
3	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	week in review: execution and tomy soeharto, 26 April 2015 Paragraph 10	When Indonesia decides to be firm on its execution policy, the government should exhibit understanding when the same policy is applied to Indonesian citizens.
4	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 7	What Jakarta needs to focus on now is ensuring that all the rights of those still on death row are respectfully observed and the executions as well as the treatment of families are conducted with due dignity.
5	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	Diplomatic measures are acceptable means of political discourse. We should consider them as the norm in diplomatic language.
6	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	The concerns of all friendly countries related to this case should be considered carefully by Jakarta.

7	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	Indonesia should not react harshly to a protocol in international diplomacy.
8	LEGITIMATION (RATIONALISATION)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	However, all sides must resist the temptation to use coarse language and veiled threats, which will only inflame the situation further.
9	UNIFICATION (SYMBOLISATION OF UNITY)	Editorial: Respect thy neighbor's law, 30 April 2015 Paragraph 8	Indonesia should not react harshly to a protocol in international diplomacy.
10	FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Brazil's red card, 24 February 2015 Paragraph 12	But no matter how humiliating the treatment, Indonesia should act maturely.
11	FRAGMENTATION (DIFFERENTIATION)	Editorial : Lesson from Saudi Arabia. 16 April 2015 Paragraph 6	Either beheading, which many call cruel and uncivilized, or the use of a firing squad, capital punishment has been maintained in many countries on the grounds that it effectively deters people from committing such crimes, although some studies have found no correlation between the two.